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621 mains in the old *barrio* carries on after his father's death the membership in the old *barrio* and fulfils the pledge to that *santo*, while the younger son takes up membership in another *barrio*. It will be observed that
[591] there is a tendency for the men within a *barrio* to be related rather than the women, because in most cases a married son brings his wife to live in his father's house, or in a new house built on or near the same house site, while daughters marry and often go to live in other *barrios*. The *barrio* probably in no way af-
[582] fects the choice of spouse; no influences on such choice appear except influences of propinquity and temperamental preference.

621 794 782 Membership in the *barrio* is attested by the important fact of payment of the offering (S. *limosna;* N. *huentli*) at the time of the *fiesta* of the *santo* of the *barrio*, and it is so perpetuated in the cases of individuals belonging to *barrios* other than those in which they live. Thus the La Santísima families in Los Reyes pay the offering when the *fiesta* of La Santísima takes place. They may also pay the offering for the *fiesta* of Los Reyes, but this is recognized as a later obligation and does not cancel membership in the *barrio* of La Santísima. By this same ceremonial payment the fact that the people living in the Santa Cruz enclave within San Miguel belong to Santa Cruz is annually revived at the *fiesta* of Santa Cruz. The offering is thought of as a perpetual pledge to the *santo*, irrevocable, and binding on a man's family after his death. The money so paid is expended for one or both

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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[3]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[4] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[3] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[4] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

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591 ent. "A good wife lives contentedly with her mother-in-law."[1]

177 585 The ceremonial accompanying marriage has, in general, a simple Catholic form. Most of the features of the old Aztec customs,[2] such as the consultation of diviners in selecting the bride, the formal exhortation of the bride and bridegroom, the tying together of the clothing of the boy and girl as the sanctifying act, have been displaced by Christian-church ritual. But certain elements remain. The formal presentation of the request for the girl's hand, which must be repeated [584] before formally accepted, was a part of the old Indian [608] custom. The godfather has taken the place of the professional *cihuatlanque*. Minor elements of this custom, such as the bringing of gifts of fruit and food, are likewise survivals.[3]

584 [608] When the boy has found a girl he wants to marry, he tells his parents. His father and his mother and his godfather and his godmother all go together to the house of the girl to ask her consent. They are received by the girl and her parents. She is not expected to give her answer then. The representatives of the boy ask the girl and her family to think it over, and they come back in a week. They usually go on Sunday. They may come back more than once. If she says "No," the matter is ended. If she says "Yes," then just a week after her consent is obtained the boy's parents and godparents come to her house and put flowers and candles in front of the *santo* in her house. They do

[183] [1] When it was suggested to one informant that the couple might live with the wife's parents, he laughed and said, "Oh, no, there he couldn't even cry out." But a few newly married couples do live in that way.

[2] See, e.g., Clavijero, *Historia antigua de Mexico*, p. 326.

[3] In some villages the old customs are very largely preserved. See, e.g., J. Paredes Colin, art., "Marriage Customs of San Juan Misutitlan" (Puebla).

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With the exception of Santa Cruz (small) which, strictly speaking, is not an independent barrio but is about to become one, there are three large barrios: Santo Domingo, La Santísima, and San Miguel; and four smaller ones: Santa Cruz, Los Reyes, San Sebastián, and San Pedro. While topographic factors have played some role in fixing barrio boundaries, the larger barrios are grouped around the central plaza and the smaller ones are located above these on the ascending slope. However, the outer portions of the larger barrios are almost as distant from the center of the village as is the barrio of San Pedro. Since the entire village is built on a slope, the smaller barrios are called "los de arriba" and the larger ones "los de abajo."

Some Tepoztecans now use the road as a convenient dividing line between the upper and lower portions of the village. But the road cuts through the three larger barrios. The boundaries of the barrios are not always clearly defined, and we found considerable disagreement among informants concerning the limits. "Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, although almost at the opposite end of the town." [19]

Barrio membership is primarily determined by the ownership of a house site in a barrio and the payment of the tax for the upkeep of the barrio. In this fashion, barrio stability is assured despite the considerable changes in residence which occur in the village. For it is the house site that traditionally belongs to one barrio or another, and whoever lives on it, whether he obtained it by inheritance or purchase, becomes a member of that barrio. In most cases a person belongs to the barrio in which he was born and raised. However, a man who was born and raised in the barrio of San Pedro may purchase a site in Santa Cruz and establish his home there. If he pays his tax and participates in the affairs of the barrio he automatically becomes a member of Santa Cruz. He may, for reasons of sentiment, continue to support his barrio of origin and will probably also attend the barrio fiesta of San Pedro, since many of his relatives will still be there. But this is voluntary. Since patrilocal residence after marriage predominates, the men of any barrio are generally more closely related than the women. A woman upon marriage becomes a member of her husband's barrio. However, women, more than men, maintain cross-barrio loyalties; they help their relatives in the barrio of origin to prepare the fiesta.

It should be noted that some persons own house sites in two or three barrios. In these cases they must pay the tax in each but participate in the religious and social life of the barrio in which they reside or where they were raised and born. Widows, as heads of families, pay the tax on their house sites and are considered as members in the barrio of their house site. Young couples sometimes buy a house

[19] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 70.

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many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

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family life. Traditionally, the married son continues to live with his father until the next son marries, after which the older son may set up his own house or at least establish his own kitchen. However, the present tendency in the village is for the young couple to become independent as soon as possible, often after one or two years. In fact, many of the younger generation would prefer to set up their own house immediately after marriage and those who have the wherewithal do so. The majority of the cases under Type II and all in Types III and IV are multiple families each with their separate kitchens and separate budgets.

Although residence is preferably patrilocal, there are twenty-six cases of married daughters living with the parents. About one-third of these cases include the daughters' husbands, the others are either widows, abandoned wives, or women who have separated from their husbands. There are only eight families in which more than one married son and daughter continue to live with their parents, again indicating the few cases of large extended families living together. Cases of married siblings living with their families are also few.

Because of the absence of the custom of renting houses, it is unusual to find unrelated families living on the same house site. The five cases indicated in Table 11 were those in which an unused house on a house site was loaned to a family or a newly wed couple without a home.

Under "Miscellaneous Composition" we have included those cases which did not fall under our classifications. A variety of types are covered by this category. For example, cases of an old widowed brother and sister; a widow and son plus the family of her deceased husband's nephew; parents with the first and second wives of their dead son and his children, with a widowed daughter, and with a daughter separated from her husband.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In Tepoztlán, as in most peasant societies, the family is the basic cooperative unit of production, and each member is expected to contribute to its support and welfare. The biological family seeks to be independent and self-sufficient. There are no institutionalized day-to-day cooperative endeavors between families, and normally little aid is given or received. Nevertheless, some mutual assistance between families exists in the form of borrowing and labor exchange. For example, a man who owns a small parcel of land but no plow-oxen may arrange to work as a *peón* for an uncle, brother, *compadre*, or neighbor, in exchange for the plowing of his own land. But there is a minimum of such cooperation, for Tepoztecans are essentially individualists.

Most work, whether it be agriculture, trade, or some special occupation, is carried on individually rather than cooperatively. Even within the family the division of labor is such that each individual does a separate task instead of working together on the same task. For example, the mother may do all the marketing, one daughter may wash all the clothes, another daughter may grind all the corn. Although such a division of labor may seem quite natural, it contrasts with that

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581 within the last ten years revealed that in fifteen cases the wife was poorer than the husband at the time of marriage, in five cases husband and wife had approximately the same economic status, and in five cases the wife was from a wealthier family than the husband. In each of the five marriages in the last group there was some extenuating factor which explained the fact that a rich girl married a poor boy. Two of the girls were known to have had affairs previous to the marriage; one girl was thirty years old and married a boy of seventeen; one girl was from a small nearby village and married "up" socially, if not economically, into Tepoztlán; and one girl married for love over the objections of her parents.

Parents, in giving their blessings to a marriage, are more concerned with practical considerations of the health of the prospective mate and the family's reputation. [584] The boy's mother and godmother will make inquiries about the girl and will oppose her if she is found to have a reputation for being lazy or disobedient at home, having many *novios*, going out alone, or being sickly. If the women in the girl's [853] family frequently suffer from lack of milk at the birth of a child, she will be considered a bad risk. Mothers are also wary of their son's marrying a girl who is the favorite at home. These factors are of prime importance to the boy's mother since she will be closely associated with her future daughter-in-law. If the mother [584] strongly disapproves of the girl, she will do everything she can to break up the relationship. If the son insists on the marriage, his parents will be obligated to carry out his wishes but will do so grudgingly and will make a poor wedding.

The girl's parents seek a son-in-law who owns or who will inherit some property and who knows how to work hard. They are not so demanding about personal qualities as are his parents, since their son-in-law will, for the most part, not live with them, although they generally disapprove of a man who drinks a great deal or who is *muy enamorado*. A boy who is discovered to be their daughter's *novio* will almost always be strongly disapproved of by the girl's parents, because of their anger over being deceived and because it is taken to be evidence of the boy's lack of respect for them.

582 Marriage restrictions in Tepoztlán follow the usual Catholic tradition of western culture. Marriage between all but distant relatives is forbidden. First and second cousins do not marry, and marriage between third and fourth cousins is dis- [605] couraged. However, relationships beyond second cousins are often not carefully kept track of so that in practice there are many marriages between relatives. There are also marriages between individuals of the same surname. An interesting aspect 582 of marriage restrictions is that children of *compadres* cannot marry each other, for 608 they are "spiritual brothers and sisters." Since the *compadre* terminology is also [601] extended to the sibling of the *compadre*, this marriage restriction also includes their children, and many families are therefore ruled out from those eligible for marriage. There was not a single case of marriage between children of *compadres*.

582 The great majority of Tepoztecans marry within their own village. Of 585 [62] married couples in the village in 1944 only 58 were marriages with outsiders. Of those marrying into the village, 35 were women and 23 were men, reflecting the

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predominance of patrilocal residence. Eighteen of the outsiders married to Tepoztecans came from the surrounding villages within the municipio of Tepoztlán; forty came from rural regions of nearby states such as Guerrero, Puebla, and Mexico, D.F. The relatively few marriages between Tepoztecans and other villages within the municipio are probably due to the attitudes of superiority of Tepoztecans.

Forty-two per cent of the marriages in the village are between members of the same barrio. (See Table 15.) This is a much higher proportion than might be

TABLE 15. Inter- and Intra-Barrio and Village Marriages, 1944.

Barrio	Men Married to Women of Other Barrios	Men Married to Women of Other Villages or Towns	Women Married to Men of Other Barrios	Women Married to Men of Other Villages or Towns	Intra-Barrio Marriages	Couples From Other Barrios or Villages	Total
Santo Domingo	39	11	13	10	70	4	147
La Santísima	44	6	19	6	38	20	133
San Sebastián	1	4	4	1	10	8	39
San Pedro		2	2		4	1	11
San Miguel	33	7	10	4	52	21	127
Santa Cruz (large)	26	2	7	1	26	3	65
Santa Cruz (small)	15	2	1	..	3	4	25
Los Reyes	15	4	6	1	10	2	38
Total	186	38	62	23	213	63	585

inferred from Redfield's statement on this point in 1926-27. As might be expected, the highest percentage of intra-barrio marriages occurs in the larger barrios where there is a wider choice of eligible mates. The relatively high incidence of intra-barrio marriage means that one's affinal relatives are within one's own barrio. Since visiting and other social activities tend to follow kinship lines, this type of marriage strengthens the barrio as a social unit.

Inter-barrio marriages constitute approximately 49 per cent of all marriages. By far the greater number are cases in which the women leave their own barrio and go to live in the barrio of their husband, again reflecting the preference for patrilocal residence. However, the fact that 85 cases (representing 16 per cent of all couples) were those in which the men went to live in the barrio of their wives, is significant. Tepoztecans speak with deprecation of matrilocal residence. When a young man goes to live with his wife's people after marriage, it is said, "se regaló como perro" (he was given away like a dog). Another common expression is, "se fué como 'nuero'" (he went as a male daughter-in-law). Matrilocal residence occurs for the most part in the case of poor orphans or in the case of younger men marrying older and more dominating women.

It can be seen in Table 15 that most intermarriages are between the large ad-

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

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Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

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An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

[439] [484] [589] [554] [439] [837]

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in-

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178 law and were subject to their authority, the husband had relatively little difficulty in controlling his wife. But the young wife now assumes earlier the full burden of 594 running the household and requires a certain freedom and authority which has not [591] been traditionally hers. Men, however, are still unprepared to permit their wives the freedom to carry out these new responsibilities and interpret many of their demands and activities as threats to the husband's authority.

562 The quality of husband-wife relations is perhaps most clearly revealed by the 593 latent fear that husbands have of being bewitched or poisoned by their wives. 754 Tepoztecan men believe that wives who have suffered beatings and harsh treatment may take revenge by resorting to sorcery. The most commonly feared sorcery is a potion made from an herb called *toloache*, which may be secretly put into a man's coffee or other drink.[1] This herb is supposed to make a man *tonto*, stupid or foolish and easily led. An overdose of *toloache* will make a man an idiot. The most important symptom to Tepoztecans is that the drugged man can no longer control his wife and becomes dominated by her. When a woman is known to dominate her husband and to have many lovers, she is suspected of having given her husband *toloache*. According to Tepoztecans, the man is unaware of his condition and can do nothing about it. His mother or some other close relative may attempt to cure him secretly by putting a counter-potion into his coffee. It is interesting to note that there is not a single case of *toloache* being given by men to women.

There is a readiness to explain all mildness and passivity in men, in relation to their wives, as a result of the man's having been drugged by *toloache* or bewitched by other means. For example, a man in the village continued to give his wife a regular sum of money, although she had left him and they had no children. His unprecedented solicitude was believed to have been the result of magic applied by the wife. There are about fifty recognized cases of *toloache* poisoning or bewitching in the village. The following cases were described by one of our male informants:

MAXIMO C.: He was a bachelor until age forty, at which time he married a widow, age fifty. Before his marriage he was a strong man, but after a while he became weak, thin, humble, and always kept his head down. That is why we believe she gave him something. She is the mother, the queen. She is all and he is her servant. She had had many men and had always lived with bachelors. She lured him and married him. Her first husband was a fool. He was a *capitán* for the hacienda and was away a lot. He came here every eight days and often found another man in the house. He permitted this. She had many men, and they all died. She gave some potion to all of these men to make them live with her. She died last year.

ANTONIO F.: He eloped with his first wife. He beat her often because she ran around. After twenty years of marriage, she gave him the stuff and he began to show the symptoms.

RICARDO V.: He was the boss in his home for about five years. Then she began to sleep with just anybody, and he began to show all the symptoms.

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[1] *Toloache* is a well-known plant in Mexico and is said to contain a drug which, when given in large doses, will affect the brain.

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Because of patrilocal residence, relations between the wife's parents and their son-in-law depend more upon personal factors than upon formal obligations, except for the usual formal respect-relations which prevail between them. Relations may be amiable and even mutually helpful, but more generally are not close, almost to the point of avoidance. Some Tepoztecans recall that in the past the son-in-law was obliged to work for his father-in-law for two years by providing him with wood and water, as part of the bride price. Work now done by the son-in-law is voluntary and is usually limited to times when the father-in-law is ill or in need. If the mother-in-law is widowed and has property, her son-in-law may give her some aid regularly; if she is left alone with no means of support, the son-in-law may invite her to live in his home.

Tepoztecan men are generally wary of the mother-in-law as a meddlesome, trouble-making figure, and most sons-in-law prefer to keep the relationship a distant one. Despite this stereotype, and the fact that some mothers-in-law have been critical of the way the son-in-law treated her daughter, often to the extent of urging the girl to return home, it is more common to find the mother-in-law who insists that her daughter try to please her husband and bear up under domestic difficulties. Most fathers-in-law take the same attitude, unless their daughter is ill-treated by her husband. In such cases, the father-in-law may feel personally affronted, interpreting the son-in-law's behavior as being disrespectful to him.

Relations between sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law are not formalized and depend largely upon personal factors. Sisters-in-law, whether wives of two brothers, or the husband's wife and sister, may be friendly and mutually helpful or, just as frequently, suspicious and hostile. In some families the wives of brothers compete for the esteem of the mother-in-law and carry to her tales and gossip about each other. When the mother-in-law favors one sister-in-law over another, hostility between the two younger women usually results. Relations between sisters-in-law frequently depend upon how the brothers get along with each other; quarrels over inheritance involve the sisters-in-law as much as the siblings.

Brothers-in-law generally have less contact with each other than do sisters-in-law, since they tend to reside farther apart. Two sisters may live at opposite ends of the village after marriage and, like their husbands, see relatively little of one another. Even when brothers-in-law, particularly the husband and brother of the woman, live nearby or on the same house site, they tend to maintain their distance. Ill feeling between brothers-in-law may arise over inheritance, or because of favoritism on the part of the parents-in-law, or because of a quarrel between the wife and her sibling. In a few cases, brothers-in-law have fairly close relations involving labor exchange, supplying each other with meat when they slaughter a pig, and drinking together.

The parents of the husband and wife are *consuegros* to one another. Theirs is a mutual respect-relation, with each addressing the other in *Vd*. There are no formal obligations between them. It is customarily understood that after a girl's marriage her parents relinquish their rights of control over her in favor of the husband and

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punished. Some parents try to assuage the children's resentment by placing fruit and candy under the infant's dress and saying that the baby brought gifts to his brothers and sisters. Affection shown by the grandmother, the father, and older brothers and sisters also serves to comfort younger children. Demonstrative affection from the mother is almost entirely absent after the new baby is born. In general, it is rare for a child over five to be held, hugged, or kissed, and by the time the child reaches ten this never occurs.

Temper tantrums, which rarely occur in the nursing child or even during weaning, are frequent in the next-to-the-youngest child, after the birth of a new sibling. These tantrums are distinctly associated with the coming of the other child and are attributed to jealousy. The child becomes irritable and hypersensitive, and any rebuff or show of indifference on the part of his elders is enough to cause a temper tantrum. The child throws himself to the ground in a rage, screaming and kicking and pulling his hair. Some children bang their heads on the ground, tear at their clothing, and hit or scratch themselves. Frequently children urinate *por muina,* or out of anger, during a temper tantrum. They also throw themselves on the offender and beat him.

The child usually gets what he wants, in order to quiet him, but if the father is at home he may receive a spanking. If the child has the tantrum because of an older brother or sister, he usually gets what he wants. As the baby of the family, the child has learned to get what he wants by crying; when he becomes next youngest to the baby he gets what he wants by temper tantrums. Children may have temper tantrums up to the time they go to school. If a child is *muy encaprichudo,* or very willful, demanding, or stubborn, his temper tantrums may not be tolerated, and he may be subject to beatings and punishments during this period.

The importance of the grandmother to the child who is displaced by a new sibling cannot be overemphasized. Sending the disturbed or unhappy child to live with the grandmother is a traditional, almost institutionalized, way of handling the problem. The grandmother represents an adequate mother-substitute and softens the abruptness of the child's separation from his mother. The stereotype of the grandmother who is constant, loving, patient, and solicitous toward her grandchildren, while not true of every grandmother, is true of many. The child who has a grandmother is considered fortunate. The child who is difficult to wean, who is *chipil,* or who has many temper tantrums, is sent to the grandmother to receive the attention and care he craves. First-born sons and favorite children, whom the parents are reluctant to punish, are most often the ones to go. Children may stay with the grandmother for a month or a year or, not infrequently, until they marry.

After the birth of a new sibling, the next youngest child no longer sleeps with the mother. Occasionally the youngest child sleeps with the mother for five or more years because there is no one to displace him. In one case, the youngest son, who was also his mother's favorite, slept with her until he was ten. In another family a girl of five who had slept with her father since she was weaned was so attached to him that she would sleep with no one else. Occasionally, too, we found a grown

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones,* the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest;* others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil.* Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamiso.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group